1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

growth in plants by the powers of sympathetic magic. Ceremonial cannibalism was sometimes practiced, in the belief that the eater can absorb the virtues of the eaten, but this rite cannot be considered a vice. The letting of one's own blood was another way to ensure divine favor, and people did horrible self-penances such as mutilating themselves with knives or drawing through their tongues a string on which were threaded maguey spines. The higher the social position of the individual and the more he consequently knew of ritualistic observance, the more arduously he performed the fasts, penances and tortures imposed by the religion. The priests, therefore, were strongly cognizant of their social responsibility and by the rigor of their own lives strove to ensure the well-being of the tribe.[17] (See Plate 61, bottom right.)

The picture writings of the Aztecs take human sacrifice and penance as a matter of course but seldom indicate the quantity of victims. Indeed, only one such manuscript records the monthly ceremonies, and a post-Conquest copy of another reveals a sacrifice of twenty thousand people at the dedication of the enlarged great temple of Mexico.[17] The Spanish accounts and those of the educated Indians agree, but whether Christian piety induced exaggeration, and how much, it is difficult to ascertain at this time and age. The Conquistador who counted thousands of skulls on the skull rack in Tenochtitlan apparently confirms these other statements, which the great humanitarian and Indian lover, Las Casas, discounted in his special pleading for decent treatment of the indigenous population of New Spain.[18]

The priesthood, beside performing these bloodcurdling acts, had other more pacific duties; they also instructed youth in the mysteries of writing and keeping records. Aztec writ-

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

796
212

266]

PLATE 61

AZTEC RITUAL

TOP: *Left:* Dressing a victim and equipping him with the proper headdress, shield and magical mirror to play the part of Tezcatlipoca. *Right:* Sacrifice of the victim after a year. Note the flutes discarded by him as he ascended the stair. MIDDLE: *Left:* Dressing a priest in the costume of Xipe, the Flayed God, who wears a human skin. *Right:* Musicians with rattle and skin-covered drum, *huehuetl*. BOTTOM: *Right:* Ceremonial cannibalism. The Codex Florentino artist had obviously never taken part in such a feast, fairly common before the Conquest.

[p. 208(A)]

776
463
484
[439]

"And [they brought] vases, and incense-burners, and jars made of calabashes, spoons for stirring cacao, and stoppers for jars.

Auh in tecomatl, in pochtecomatl, in aiauitli, in aquaujtl, yn xexeloni:

"When they entered lands with which they were at war, and were among people who were far distant, they became like their enemies in their garments, their hair-dress, their speech,[184] [that they might] mimic the natives.

inſanel inuitlan, in tlacuj, in tacuxica, uelan omomj, uel calaquj, motlacacuepa in nechichicaliztica, in nexiotica, in tlaxilaca quiualnehuallujo in chanaque.

"And if they came to an evil pass, if they were discovered, then they were slain in ambush and served up with chili sauce.[185] [But if] any—even one, even two—escaped alive, [such an one] informed Moctezuma.

Auh inela otlaneçomalizque, inela otlaque: vncan quiquixnihjctia, quiuchillatilia: çe xca, aço ce, aço ome yn iã ni tomatlanpa quiça, inſanel quiualnemoa in motecuçoma:

This one then gave him a gift, and decked him with his amber lip-plug. He did him honor, singing him out as a valiant warrior, thus making him a man of consequence.

ic vncan quimaca, cuquilia, yapoçmaltemoua, yc quimaviztia, ic quimacaxtia, in tlacauh, vncan ic oquichtia.

And when those who returned arrived home, when they had come back, when they had reached and had commenced in their land, they feasted all, [especially] the merchants and the principal men, that they might make themselves celebrated.

Auh yn iquac oalacia, yuhan: in jnſihuh, yuancuepa oquichiuhque, yn otlalnechicoa, yn otlalnelpachiuhque: inquich tlacatl quijoaua, in pochteca: yuan in tlanaçe, ic monnitlaia:

It was called "the washing of the face."[186] They paid great honor to the cane, to the walking staff, of Yiacancauhtli.

mjtoa, nacxipaca, ceoa quimaviztilia yn inapil, yn jilacçaia yiacancauhtli:

In the tribal temple[187] they set it upright. They offered it an offering first, when they laid a feast. And when they summoned people to a banquet, they always offered it an offering when they ate.

ceoa in calpulco quiquetzaia: achto quiclamanjlia, yn iquac otlaqualtia: yuan otlaca nal motecuiotoa, quiclamanjlia in ça machiça yn jtlaqualo.

And when they communally bathed and slew a man as a sacrifice,[188] for whom they offered was the likeness of their god, Yiacancauhtli; or else one of [the following gods], or all of them, whom they worshipped—Chicomecoatl, or Chalmecacihuatl, Acxotecatl, and Nacxitl, Cochimetl, Yacapitzactec.[189] No one determined, [for] it was of their own free will, whether they should offer up one or two men.

Auh inela aca tealtia, inſanel caltitia, quiuecoia in jnnoh yiacancauhtli: anoço ceme inhuantin yn mocheoaia, in quimotentitia in chicomequiuitl, anoço chalmecacihuatl, yuan acxotecatzij, yuan nacxitl, cochimetl, iacapitzactec, aiac quiiecuja, yiellodama, yn aço ce, anoço ome, ca aiflc tlacatl:

They brought them there at the slave market at Atzacualco; they sorted and arranged them, turning them around many times, examining them, buying the good ones—those of good bodies, without blemish, the best men, in good health, sick in no degree, who were marked by no marks on the body.

vnpa concouaia yn tlacatecujloca atzapotalco: motlahtlatilia, motlapapatilia, quiiacatecupa, quimjhitca, yn qualtin quiiacatzque, yn acan quimamjqua, in tlacalecti, in tlacamelaxque, yn acan cucuxque, yn aole initlacuiah ca:

Such as these they slew on the feast-day, Panquetzaliztli, when the feast of Uitzilopochtli was celebrated.

yeje inhuan ,quiiauiltiaque, yn ipan panquetzaliztli: yn vncan illuiqujxtililoia vitzilobochtli:

Thereupon they garbed them in trappings like those of Yiacancauhtli, which were assigned to them.

yquac quimchichiquia, quimchamacaca, inmch quimalia yn juhquj yaochichinal yiacancauhtli.

And before they slew them, first they let them be seen by the people. It was said: "They now show up [like

Auh yn aiamo quiiauiltia, achtopa quiiaviztitia: mjtoa quiuiuetzitia, ic quiiamachtia in tealtiaque:

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184. Cf. Tezozomoc (op. cit., p. 57): Yxuxuhcahqui "*pregonero que viene de otra provincia, o de otra parte grandemente, a anunciar, y le oyen, y supen (que es propio oficio de Mercaderes)* . . ."

185. Cf. Ixtlil (*Hist. Reyn. Colh. Mex.* II, 88).

186. Book IX of the *Historia general* deals almost entirely with the activities of the merchants. Chapter VI, entitled *De las ceremonias que se hazia a los mercaderes quando llegaban a su casa, que se llama lauatorio de pies*, contains washing utensils and hands.

187. Sahagún defines *calpulli* as "*iglesia del barrio, ó parroquia*" (Spanish version).

188. Sahagún defines the substantive in this manner: "*Estos dezian que matauan a estos esclauos.*"—*Historia general*, Vol. I, p. 213.

189. According to the Spanish version, they worshiped brothers and a sister of Yiacancauhtli. Ixtlil (*Collected Works*, Vol. II, pp. 4, p. 92) enumerates Cochimetl and Yacapitzactec as ancestors for Yiacancauhtli, "Chicomequiuitl or Chalmecacihuatl is the name of a goddess of water and the earth"). Accompanied is Tzocallipan, Nacxitl is Quetzalcoatl.

The second month they named Tlacaxipeualiztli. On the first day of this month they celebrated a feast in honor of the god called Totec—[or], as another name, called Xipe—when they slew and flayed many slaves and captives.

"Al segundo mes, llamauan tlacaxipeoaliztli. En el primero dia deste mes: hazian vna fiesta a honrra del dios llamado Totec, y por otro nombre se llamaua xipe: donde matauan, y desollauan muchos esclauos y captiuos.

Chapter 2
Tlacaxipeualiztli

From the captives whom they were to slay the owners themselves tore off the hair of the crowns of their heads and kept it as a relic. This they did in the tribal temple before the fire.

When the masters of the captives took their slaves to the temple where they were to slay them, they took them by the hair. And when they took them up the steps of the pyramid, some of the captives swooned, and their masters pulled them up and dragged them by the hair to the sacrificial stone where they were to die.

Having brought them to the sacrificial stone, which was a stone of three hands in height, or a little more, and two in width,* or almost, they threw them upon it, on their backs, and five [priests] seized them—two by the legs, two by the arms, and one by the head; and then came the priest who was to kill him. And he struck him with a flint [knife], held in both hands and made in the manner of a large lance head, between the breasts. And into the gash which he made, he thrust his hand and tore from [the victim] his heart; and then he offered it to the sun and cast it into a gourd vessel.

After having torn their hearts from them and poured the blood into a gourd vessel, which the master of the slain man himself received, they started the body rolling down the pyramid steps. It came to rest upon a small square below. There some old men, whom they called Quaquacuiltin,[3] laid hold of it and carried it to their tribal temple, where they dismembered it and divided it up in order to eat it.

Cap. 2.
Tlacaxipeualiztli

A los captiuos que matauan: arrancauíos, los cabellos de la coronjlla, y guardauanlos, los mjsmos amos, como por reliqujas: esto hazian en el calpul delante del fuego.

Quando lleuauan los señores de los captiuos a sus esclauos al templo: donde los aujan de matar, lleuauanlos por los cabellos: y quando los subian, por las gradas del cu, algunos de los captiuos, desmayauan, y sus dueños los subian arrastrando por los cabellos, hasta el taxon donde aujan de morir.

Llegandolos al taxon: que era vna piedra de tres palmos de alto, o poco mas, y dos de ancho o casi: echauanlos sobre ella de espaldas: y tomauanlos cinco, dos por las piernas, y dos por los braços, y vno por la cabeça: y venja luego el sacerdote, que le auja de matar, y dauale con ambas manos, con vña piedra de pedernal: hecha a manera de hierro de lançon por los pechos, y por el agujero que hazia: metia la mano, y arrancauale el coraçon, y luego le ofrecia al sol, echauale en vna xicara.

Despues de auerles sacado el coraçon, y despues de auer echado la sangre en vna xicara: la qual recebia el señor del mjsmo muerto: echauan el cuerpo a rrodar por las gradas abaxo del cu, yua a parar, en vna placeta abaxo: de alli le tomauan, vnos viejos, que llamavan quaquacujlti, y le lleuauã a su calpul: donde le despedaçauan, y le repartian pa cõmer.

* Actually a palmo is defined as the span between thumb and end of little finger, hand outstretched. In Webster's Dictionary, the Portuguese palmo is 8.64 in.; in the Encyclopaedia Britannica (14th ed.), the Spanish palmo is 0.229 m. A handbreadth is estimated as 3-4 in.

1. Marginal notation: *Cerbatho tzonco pan.*
2. Marginal notation: *Moyoua huhue don xoxo.*
3. Marginal notation: *huehue cuchujh et cosd.*

X 796

After they had slain them and torn out their hearts, they took them away gently, rolling them down the steps. When they had reached the bottom, they cut off their heads and inserted a rod through them, and they carried the bodies to the houses which they called *calpulli*, where they divided them up in order to eat them. The papers with which they arrayed the images of the mountains, after they had broken them to pieces in order to eat them, they hung in the tribal temple. Many other ceremonies were performed in this feast, which are set down at length in its account.

[266]

[299]

Despues que las ouieron muerto, y sacados los coraçones: lleuauanlas passo rodando por las gradas abaxo: llegadas abaxo cortauanlas las cabeças, y espetauanlas en vn palo, y los cuerpos lleuauanlos a las casas que llamauan Calpul: donde los repartian para comer: los papeles con que adereçauan las ymagenes de los montes despues de averlas desbaratado para comer, colgauanlos en el Calpul. Otras muchas cerimonjas se hazian en esta fiesta, que estan a la larga puestas en su historia.

like a woman, he went with a man's fortitude; he bore himself like a man; he went speaking in manly fashion; he went exerting himself; he went strong of heart and shouting, not without courage nor stumbling, but honoring and praising his city.

He went with firm heart, speaking as he went: "Already here I come! You will speak of me there in my home land!"

And so they were brought up [the pyramid temple steps] before [the sanctuary of] Uitzilopochtli.

Thereupon they stretched them, one at a time, down on the sacrificial stone; then they delivered them into the hands of six priests, who threw them upon their backs, and cut open their breasts with a wide-bladed flint knife.[9]

And they named the hearts of the captives "precious eagle-cactus fruit." They lifted them up to the sun, the turquoise prince, the soaring eagle.[7] They offered it to him; they nourished him with it.

And when it had been offered, they placed it in the eagle-vessel.[8] And these captives who had died they called "eagle men."[9]

Afterwards they rolled them over; they bounced them down; they came tumbling down head over heels, and end over end, rolling over and over; thus they reached the terrace at the base of the pyramid.[10]

And here they took them up.

And the old men, the *quaquacuilti*, the old men of the tribal temples, carried them there to their tribal temples, where the captor had promised, undertaken, and vowed [to take a captive].

There they took [the slain captive] up, in order to carry him to the house [of the captor], so that they might eat him. There they portioned him out, cutting him to pieces and dividing him up. First of all they reserved for Moctezuma a thigh, and set forth to take it to him.

And [as for] the captor, they there applied the down of birds to his head and gave him gifts. And

moq'chchicauhtic, oquichcoatiuh, moquichiiotiuh, mellaquauhtiuh, moiolchicauhtiuh, oalmocxatzilitiuh, amo tlacuecuetlaxotiuh, amo tlapolotiuh, tlatenioti-tiuh, quijauhcaiotitiuh yn jaltepeuh:

yiollo quimattiuh, quioalitotiuh, ie nõiauh, annech-onjtozque, vmpa nochan yn.

Auh yn ie iuhquj yn oaxitiloque tlacpac, ixpan in vitzilobuchtli:

njman ie ic ceceniaca quimonteca in techcac, ic inmac in tlamacazque, quinchiquacencauiaia, quim-aquetztiteca, quimelctequi, yca itquaoac, patlaoac tecpac.

Auh yn jniollo, mamalti quitocaiotia, quauhnoch-tli tlaçotli: conjoalia in tonatiuh xippilli, quatleuanjtl quitlamaca, quincaltia.

Auh yn oventic quauhxicalco contlalia, quauhxi-calco contlalitiuj: auh in iehoantin injquja mamalti, quintocaiotiaia Couhteca:

çatepan quinoalmjmjloa, quinoalteteuajchoa, cha-chalcatiuitze, mãotzincueptiuitze, motzotzoniquetz-tiuitze, mocuecueptiuitze, ynic oalaci apetlac:

auh vncan, quimonana:

auh ie inmac in veve'tzitzin quaquacuilti, calpul-vevetque: vmpa quinujca yn incalpulco, yn vmpa omotlatlalili, omjto, omonctolti male:

vmpa conana, ynic quiujca ichan, ynic quiquazque: vmpa quixexeloa, quitetequi, quiueueloa: oc ie achto quitonaltia in motecuçuma ce ymetz, mantiuh in quiujquilia.

Auh in tlamani, vmpa quiquapotonja, yoan qui-

6. In *op. cit.*, p. 63, Soler specifies a *"dicho breve Franciscanorum."* Simón (*op. cit.*) defines *tequanime* as *"Constante pour les sacrifices humains, fait avec du silex ou de l'obsidienne. . . ."* Fray Toribio de Benavente Motolinía's "Historia de los indios de Nueva España," in *Colec-ción de documentos para la historia de México* (Joaquín García Icazbalceta, ed.; México: Librería de J. M. Andrade, 1858). Vol. I, p. 40, definitely states that the knife was of flint, not obsidian. Motolinía describes it as *"un navajon ancho hecho de lanza, un cuchio agudo porque . . . no se pueda hazer muy agudo. . . ."*

7. *Quauhtecuxtl*: probably *quauhtecuxtli* is meant. This term, and its synonym, *quauhtecuxtl*, Soler (*Collected Works*, Vol. II, Pt. 3, p. 142) considers as meaning the sun.

8. Soler consistently renders the term *quauhxicalli* as *Adlerschale* (cf: *Hoiige Kapitel*, p. 64). In *Collected Works*, Vol. II, Pt. 3, p. 193, he breaks the word down into *quauxil* and *xicalli* (wooden vessel), and argues that the syllable *quauxil* was always understood to mean eagle. The vessels were actually to have been made of stone, and were used not only for the hearts but for the blood as well. Sahagún, as has commonly been held, uses the term *cáscara de madera*.

9. In Lib. II of the *Florentine Codex*, fo. 18 *v*, Sahagún writes: *"Despues mandan los sacquean, los llamauan quauhteca."* In *loc. cit.*, Soler translates *quauhteca* as *"the one from the eagle-land,"* the body of the sacrificed victim. The soul went to the house of the sun, the eastern sky, as the sun's image and representative (p. 197).

10. *Apetlac* (cf. Soler, *op. cit.*, Vol. V, p. 9) is a small terrace projecting at the foot of the pyramid stairway. Soler here cites Sahagún, Lib. IX, cap. 14, and Lib. II, caps. 20 and 33.

X 796 he summoned his blood relations, he assembled them, that they might go to eat at the house of him who ● 266 had taken the captive.

[282] And here they cooked each one a bowl of a stew of dried maize, called *tlacatlaolli*, which they set before each, and in each was a piece of the flesh of the captive.

[302] They named [the captor] the sun, white earth, the feather, because [he was] as one whitened with chalk and decked with feathers.

X 796 The pasting on of feathers was done to the captor because he had not died there in the war, but was yet to die, and would pay his debt [in war or by sacrifice]. Hence his blood relations greeted him with tears and encouraged him.

And on the morrow, the gladiatorial sacrifice[11] was made. Until early morning, until dawn, they made them hold vigil, all night, until the night was ended. Thus did the captives, those to be sacrificed, pass the whole night until dawn.

From those whom they would offer as sacrifices, once more they took hair [from the crown of their heads], at midnight.

This was called "the sending upward of the eagle man";[12] because he who died in war went into the presence of [the sun]; he went before and rested in the presence of the sun. That is, he did not go to the land of the dead.

And therefore he who took hair [from the crown of a captive's head] kept his hair safely.

[276] Because thus he attained honors, flowers, tobacco prepared for smoking, and [rich] cloaks.

Thus the captive's valor would not in vain perish; thus he took from the captive his renown.

[34v] And he who took the captive was adorned, there at [the Temple of] Tecanman, in Tenochtitlan, with white turkey down, the feathers being pasted upon him, as hath been set forth in [the Feast] of Quauitl eua.

And the place where, arranged in order, the *tototecti* remained, was upon white earth or upon grass; for there was white earth in the place where they waited.[13]

And wherever in the city grass was shaken out, upon it they placed, set forth, and exhibited them—

tlauhtia: auh yn joaniolque qujndalhuja, quỊcentlalia, ynic tlaquatiuj ichan tlamanj:

vmpa qujntotonaltia cecen molcaxtil in tlaolpeoaztli, q'nmamanjliaia, itoca tlacatlaolli, ypan icietiuh cecen tlatectli yn jnacaio malli:

quitocaiotia tonatiuh, tiçatl, hiujtlꝫ ipampa iuhquỊn ytiçaio, yujio.

ypotonjloca omochiuh in tlamanj, ynic amo vmpa omjc iaopan, yn anoçe oc miquitiuh, qujntlaoztiuh, ic qujchóquiztlapaloa, quellaquaoa yn joaiolque.

Auh yn imuztlaioc, tlaoaoano: yn jioatzinioc, inic oallatuiz qujntoçauja, iuh ceioal, iuh tlami ioalli, iuh contlaça in ceioual, iuh ipan tlatuj, in mamaltj, in oaoanti:

in qujnoaoanazqȕe, oc no cepa qujntzoncuj, ioalnepantla:

'ic mitoaia onacoquiztilo in quauhtecatl, iehica ca iaomjquj, ixco iauh, ixcopa itztiuh, ixco monoltitoc in tonatiuh, qujtoznequj, amo mictlan iauh:

yoan ipampa in qujtzoncuja, qujmopialtiaia yn itzon:

iehica ca ic oqujmomaceuj, in mavizçotl, in xuchitl yn ietl, in tilmatli:

vnjc amo çan nenpoliuiz itiiacauhio: iuhqujnma ic contleiocujliaic malli.

Auh in tlamanj vmpa muchichioa in tecanma, tenochtitla, iztac totolihujtl, ynjc mopotonja, in iuh omoteneuh ipan quaujtl eoa.

Auh in vncan momanaia tototecti, tecpantimanj vipantimanj tiçapan, anoço çacapan: ipampa ca tiçatl antoca in vncan momanaia.

Auh in cana altepetl ipan, çacatl motzetzeloa, yn ipan qujnoalmana, qujnoalquetza, qujnoaltetitia:

11. See p. 44, Seler, *in op. cit.*, Vol. II, Pt. 4, p. 71, says, in the discussion of agricultural connections of the ceremony, that "The preparation of the ground and the making it fruitful was represented to the people, who flocked together from all directions, by the 'scratching' ceremonial."
12. See note 9; also Seler (*Einige Kapitel*), p. 65.
13. In the corresponding Spanish, Sahagún states: "*poníanse todos arrimados, sobre unas hierbas de hoxa, o de tipal, o grada cenzada allí cerradas.*"

X 796 no more could he use his hands; no longer defend himself; no longer make himself do anything. No longer did he move; he did not speak. Then, faltering and fainting, he fell upon the surface, tumbling as if dead. He wished that he might stop breathing, that he might suffer [no longer], that he might perish, that he might cast off his burden of death.

And thereupon they quickly took and seized him, pushed him, and dragged him, and raised and stretched him out upon the edge of the round sacrificial stone.

And then, when the Youallauan went [forth], in the guise of Totec, he gashed [the captive's] breast, seized his heart, and raised it as an offering to the sun; and the priests placed it in the eagle vessel. And [413] another man, a priest, carried the [hollow] eagle cane[21] and set it in the breast of the captive, there where the heart had been; he stained it with blood; he submerged it well into the blood. Thereupon he offered [the blood] to the sun. It was said: "Thus he giveth [the sun] to drink."

[415] And the captor thereupon took the blood of his captive into a green bowl with a feathered rim. The sacrificing priests came to pour it there. In it went the hollow cane, which also had feathers. And then the captor departed with it so that he might nourish the demons. He went into and came out of all [shrines]; he omitted none; he forgot not the priests' dwellings in the tribal temples. On the lips of the stone images he placed the blood of his captive, giving them nourishment with the hollow cane. He went in festive attire.[22]

X 796 And when he had gone to and reached all the
● 266 places, then he took the insignia to the palace, and he caused his captive to be taken to the tribal quarters, where they had passed the night in vigil; here he flayed him. Afterwards he had [the flayed body] taken to his house, where they cut it up, that it might be eaten and shared, and, as was said, to bestow as a favor to others.[23] It hath been told elsewhere how this was done.

And the captor might not eat the flesh of his captive. He said: "Shall I, then, eat my own flesh?" For when he took [the captive], he had said: "He is as my beloved son." And the captive had said:

aoctle conmochichioaltia, aocmo oalmocuetzoa, aocmo oalnaoui, çan njman iolmjqui, çotlaoa, chapantiuetzi, momiccatlaça: quinequj, macuelieh yhiiod onqujça, macuelieh conjhiiouj, macuelieh ompoliuj, macuelieh conmotlaxili, yn jmjquiztequjuh.

Auh niman ic quicuitiuetzi, cā antiquiça, ca quetztimaiauj, cā quetztiteca, itenco in temalacatl:

auh njman iquac oiauh yn Iocallaoan, totec ipan quiztiuitz conelletequj, conanjlia yn iiollo, conjaujlia in tonatiuh, quauhxicalco contlalia in tlamacazque: yoan oc no ce tlacatl tlamacazquj, conitqui, quappiaztli, ielpan contilquetza yn malli, yn vncan ocatca yiollo, conezçotia, vel eztitlan conpolactia: njman no ic conjaujlia in tonatiuh, mitoa, ic catlitia.

Auh yn tlamanj njman ic conquj yn iezço ymal, xoxoujc xicalli, tlatenpotonilli, vncan quioaltequjlia, in tlamictique, ipan icatiuh piaztli no tlapotonilli. Auh njman ic vncā eoa in quintlatlaqualia diablome, noujian nemj, izquican quiça acan quimocauja, acan quixcaoa in calmecac, calpulco: in, teme teixiptlaoan, intenco quimontlatlalilia yn jezço malli, piaztica quimonpaloltitiuh, tlaujcetinemj.

Auh yn onoviiampaneh, yn onoujampa aacito, njman concaoa in tlauiztli tecpa: auh yn jmal vncan quioalujqujlia in calpulco, yn vncan oquitoçaujque ceiooal: vncan quixipeoa, çatepan concaujliaia yn ichan vmpa quitetequj, ynjc qualoz, ynjc tetonaltiloz: yoan mjtoaia tetenhtiloz, yn oiuh mito cecnj, çan ie no iuh muchioaia.

Auh in male, amo uel quiquaia, yn jnacaio imal, quitoaia, cujx çan no ne njnoquaz: ca yn iquac caci,

21. "Un cánuto, de cobre hueco" (correspondng Spanish text).
22. "Vna compuesta con sus plumages, y cō todas sus joyas" (*ibid.*).
23. *Tetenhtiloz*: Seler (*Kenge Kapitel*, p. 72, n. 1) holds, of *tetenhtiloz*, that it is derived from *tentli*, equivalent to *tenahtiz*; and is equivalent to *tenanā* or *tenali*. Hence the meaning, to apportion as a favor.

"He is as my beloved father." And yet he might eat of someone else's captive.

And the captor kept the [captive's] skin for himself; he lent it to others. For twenty days the skin was carried by one person and another, worn for the entire feast. He who wore it gave everything given him, all that he had collected, to the captor. Afterwards [the captor] divided up [the gifts] among [all of] them. Thus he made use of his skin.

And when this was done, when they had finished with the gladiatorial sacrifice victims, then there was a dance and a procession about the round sacrificial stone, by all the impersonators [of the gods] and those who had fought the victims, all going ceremonially arrayed. In this way did they who did the slaying end [the ceremony]. All severally took with them the head of a captive, a sacrificial victim, and therewith danced. This was called "the dance with severed heads."

And the old wolf man grasped the rope [which had fastened the captives to the offering-stone] and raised it [as an offering] to the four directions. He went weeping and howling, like one bereaved; he wept for those who had suffered and died.

And also from the warring cities, from beyond [the mountains], those with whom there was war, were summoned, in secret, and came within, in secret, as Moctezuma's guests, the Nonoalca, the Cuzcateca, the Cempoalteca, the Mecateca. [These ceremonies] were shown to them, and they were confounded. For thus they were undone and disunited.[24]

And when this feast was celebrated, it was when *tortillas* of uncooked maize were eaten.[25] Those who witnessed the ceremony carried *tortillas* of uncooked maize with them, when they went to look on, and they were eaten there.

And upon the next day, the third day of the feast, then began the bringing out [of the skins]. It was very late at night that it began at the great palace. The Tlatelulca began it, and ended it at the time of eating. These the priests replaced, adorned and dancing in a variety of different arrays, with butterfly nets and fish banners; with clusters of ears of

quitoa, ca iuhquj nopiltzin: Auh in malli, quitoa ca notatzin: auh tel tepal quiquaia intemal.

Auh yn ieoaio quimopialtiaia in tlamanj, quitetlaneuhtitinemj, cempoalilhujtl ipan tlatlaeoalo, nepapatlalo, yn onneaqujlo cemjlhujtl: yn aquin onmaquja in quexquich maco, in quexquich quinechicoa conmacatimanj in tlamanj, çatepan quitexexelhuja, tetlatlamachia: ic quitlaiecultia yn ieoauh.

Auh in ie iuhquj, yn ontlanque oaoanti, njman ic mjtotia, qujiaoaloa in temalacatl, yn ixquichtin teixiptlati, yn otlaoaoanque, mocencauhtiuj, çan iuh tlantiuj yn oiuh tetlatlatique: muchintin cecentetl intlan ca ana, yn intzontecon mamalti, in oaoanti, ic mjtotiuj: mjtoa, motzontecomaitotia.

Auh in cujtlachueue, contilinja in tonacamecatl, nauhcampa conjiaoa, chocatinemj, tehcoiouhtinemj, iuhquin mjccaoati, quinchoqujlia yn otlacotique, yn onmicque.

Auh no iehoanti, yn iiaooan altepetl, tlateputzca, ynjn ca manca teuatl, tlachinolli, qujmonnotzaia ichtaca, oalichtacacalaquja, yn jcooaoan motecuçuma: yn nonooalca, cuzcateca, cempoalteca, mecateca, tlattitiloia, tlamaujçoltiloia: njman ic xitinooa, necacaoalo.

Auh yn jquac tlaoaoano, çan no iquac qualo, vilocpalli: in tlatlattaque vmpa conjtquj yn jnvilocpal, ymjttac ietiuh, vmpa qujquaquatoque.

Auh yn imuztlaioc, in ie ic eilhujtl: njman pepeoa in teq'qujxtilo, cenca oc hueca iooan in peoalo, in peoa, in vmpa vey tecpa: qujpeoaltiaia in tlatelulca, tlaqualizpan qujoalcaoaia: njman qujmonpatla tlamacazque, ynic muchichioaia, ynjc mjhtotiaia, çan tlanenel, çan nepapā tlatqujtl, papalomatlatl, michpanjtl, ocholli, tnēcoiotl, tzoalli, tlachichioalli, xone-

24. Durán (*op. cit.*, pp. 175-80) says that Moctezuma I invited "*los señores de toda la redonda*"—Texcoco, Tlacopan, Chalco, Xochimilco, Cuitlahuac, Mizquic, Otumpan, and as many more as possible. "*Los señores de las provincias y ciudades*," he continues, "*admirados y asombrados de semejante sacrificio, perdiéronse para sus provincias y pueblos llenos de temor y espanto . . . desde aquestas á las fenecerse. . . . Desde entonces todos los de las provincias y ciudades comenzaron á temerales con las mayores, viendo cada día sacrificar entrambos y otros muchos á sus enemigos.*"

25. Uilocpalli: "*tortillas, como empanadillas, que hacian de maiz sin cozer*," according to Sahagún's Spanish text. In Seler (*op. cit.*, p. 74, n. 1) this is defined as the equivalent of *maizentlacualli*—"*das 'Brot in Gestalt einer Armbrust*'. . . . *Es war ein Gebäck in Ringform, das aus ungekochtem, Zusammengeknetetem Maisteigwurde, also aus Maismehl, nicht aus Maismasse, hergestellt wurde.*"

Priests' House at Uitznauac.

X 796 346 Priests' house at Uitznauac: here dwelt the priest, the fire priest, who offered incense and who cast it upon the fire in the temple above [on the pyramid], which was named Uitznauac. Every day was this done.

A Separate Quauhxicalco.

Quauhxicalco: at this place they placed and raised a skull-frame in the center [of the pyramid compound of him] whose name was Omacatl; who was carved in wood, taking human form—[this] Omacatl. And it came to pass that they nourished him [with the blood of captives] every thirteen days, upon the day-sign of Omacatl.

Temple of Macuilcipactli.

Temple of Macuilcipactli: here were men slain; here captives died—at night only, and only those chosen for the day-sign [of Macuilcipactli].

Priests' House at Tetlanman.

Priests' House at Tetlanman: at this place dwelt the fire priest, he who was devoted [to the service of Quaxolotl Chantico].

Temple of the White Cinteotl.

[164 264] Temple of the White Cinteotl: here captives died—only those who were leprous.[10] And when they died, then [the priests] buried them; they were not eaten. They died upon the feast of the Fasting for the Sun.

Tetlanman.

Tetlanman: here died [she who was the likeness of] Quaxolotl Chantico. [This came to pass] only when the lords determined; only when it was fated. And [it took place] during the day-count of ce xochitl.

Vitznaoac calmecac.

In vitznaoac calmecac: vncan onoca in tlamaceuhquj, in tlenamacac: in ontlenamacaia, in ontletemaia in teucalli icpac: in jtoca catca vitznaoác: çan mumuztlac in juh muchioaia.

Oc cecnj quauhxicalco.

In quauhxicalco: vncan qujtlaliaia, vncan qujzcaltiaia in tzumpantli yiollo: in jtoca catca vmacatl, quavitl tlaxixintli, tlacaietiuh in vmacatl: auh in muchioaia in qujzcaltiaia matlacpovaltica vmeitica: ipan in cemjlhujtonalli vmacatl.

Macujlcipactli yteupan.

In macujlcipactli iteupan: vncan mjcoaia: vncan mjquja mamalti: çan iocaltica, çan no tonalpepenaloia.

Tetlanman calmecac

In tetlanman calmecac: vncan onoca in tlenamacac, in tlamaceuhquj.

Ittac cinteutl yteupan.

In jttac cinteoutl yteupan: vncan mjquja in mamalti, çan ichoantin in xixijoti: auh in jquac ommjcque, njman qujntocaia, amo qualoia: ipan in netonatiuhçavaloia mjquja.

Tetlanman.

In tetlanman: vncan mjquja, yn jxiptla quaxolotl chanticon: çan qujlnamjquja in tlatoque, in jquin mjquja: çan tepan yetiuh: auh ipan in cemjlhujtlapoalli, ce xuchitl.

10. In translation of *xixijoti*, we here follow Sahagún, although elsewhere our translation of this word differs. Cf. corresponding Spanish text.

Atempan.

Atempan: here they assembled the [child sacrifices called] "Human Banners." And when they had gathered them together, thereupon they carried them in procession; they carried them upon litters.

And when they had carried them in procession, then they dispersed them. Perchance they left them at Tepetzinco, in the middle of the lagoon, or at Quauhtepec, above Yiauhqueme.

Atenpan.

In atempan, vncan qujntecpichoaia in tlacateuhti: auh in jquac in oqujntecpichoque: njman ye ic qujntlaiaoalochtia, qujntlapechvia. 796^ 346

Auh in jquac oqujmontlaiaoalochtique: njman ye ic qujnmoiaoa, aço atlitic tepetzinco qujmoncaoaia, anoço quauhtepec, yiauhqueme ijcpac.

Tezcacoac Tlacochcalco.

Tezcacoac Tlacochcalco. When there were very many captives, sometimes they were slain here. And here were kept the spears and the arrows to be used in conquests.

Tezcacooac tlacochcalco

In tezcacooac tlacochcalco: vncan mjcoaia, çan quemman, yquac in cenca mjiec malli: yoan vncan mopiaia in tlacochtli, in mjtl: ynjc tepeoaloya. [712]

Acatl Yiacapan Uei Calpulli.

Acatl Yiacapan Uei Calpulli: here they gathered together [the slaves] for the Tlaloca. And when they had assembled them all, then they here slew them.

And when they had slain them, then here they cut them in pieces, and cooked them; they put squash blossoms with their flesh.

And when they had cooked them, then the nobility, and all the important men ate [the stew]; but not the common folk—only the leaders.

Acatl yiacapan vei calpulli.

In acatl yiacapan vey calpulli, vncan qujcenquixtiaia in tlatlaloque: auh in jquac oquicenquixtique, njman vncan qujnmjctiaia: [567]

auh in jquac in oqujmonmjctique, njman vncan qujntetequja, yoan qujnpaoacia, caiosuchqujlhujaia in jonacaio. [266]

Auh yn jquac oqujnpaoazque: njman qujquaia in pipilti, in jxqujch tecutlatoque: amono ichoantin in macroalti, ça ychoantin in tlatoque.

Techielli.

Techielli: here were placed fir branches.[13]

Techielli.

In techielli: vncan acaoiatemaloia.

The Tribal Temple.

All the small houses which stood around the temples were called *calpulli*. Here men fasted.

And only the noblemen, the leading men, those who instructed noblemen's sons in war, the chieftains, here fasted, every twenty days.

[Of this,] it was said: "All men fast five days."

And when the fasting took place, five days hence

Calpulli.

In ie muchi caltzonti in tlaiaoalotoc, ioan qujiaoalotoc teucalli: in mjtoaia calpulli, vncan noçaoaloia: 796^ 346 785

auh çan ichoantin in pipiltin, in tlatoque, achcauhti, tequjoaque vncan moçavaia, cempooaltica,

mjtoaia: nemacujlçaoaloia.

Auh in jquac moçaoaia, oc iuh macujlilhujtl quj-

13. In the corresponding Spanish text, Sahagún says that they gathered reeds (*cañas*).

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

us around him, and three chieftains and two priests came at once, and they said—" Malinche, forgive us for not coming to Tlaxcala to see you and to bring food, it was not for want of good will but because Mase Escasi and Xicotenga and all Tlaxcala are our enemies, and have said many evil things of us and of the Great Montezuma our Prince, and as though what they said were not enough, they now have the boldness, under your protection, to come armed into our city, and we beg you as a favour to order them to return to their own country, or at least to stay outside in the fields and not to enter our city in such a manner." But as for us they said that we were very welcome. 648

As our Captain saw that what they said was reasonable, he at once sent Pedro de Alvarado and Cristóbal de Olid, the Quartermaster, to ask the Tlaxcalans to put up their huts and ranchos there in the fields, and not to enter the city with us, excepting those who were carrying the cannon, and our friends from Cempoala, and he told them to explain to the Tlaxcalans that the reason why he asked them to do so was that all the Caciques and priests were afraid of them, and that when we left Cholula on our way to Mexico we would send to summon them, and that they were not to be annoyed at what he was doing. When the people of Cholula knew what Cortés had done, they appeared to be much more at ease.

Then Cortés began to make a speech to them, saying that our Lord and King, whose vassals we were, had very great power and held beneath his sway many great princes and Caciques, and that he had sent us to these countries to give them warning, and command them not to worship Idols, nor sacrifice human beings, or eat their flesh, or practice sodomy or other uncleanness, and as the road to Mexico, whither we were going to speak with the Great Montezuma, passed by there, and there was no other shorter road, we had come to visit their city and to treat 648 797 [782] 266 [838]

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

721 ever, that they had wished to kill us on the previous night? and why should they turn traitors against us, when all we had said or done was to warn them against certain things of which we had already warned all the towns that we had passed through, namely, that they should not be wicked and sacrifice human beings, nor worship Idols, nor eat the flesh of their neighbours, nor commit unnatural crimes, but that they should live good lives; and to tell them about matters concerning our holy faith, and this without compulsion of any kind. To what purpose then had they quite recently prepared many long and strong poles with collars and cords and placed them in a house near to the Great Temple, and why for the last three days had they been building barricades and digging holes in the streets and raising breastworks on the roofs of the houses, and why had they removed their children and wives and property from the city? Their ill will however had been plainly shown, and they had not been able to hide their treason. They had not even given us food to eat, and as a mockery had brought us firewood and water, and said that there was no maize. He knew well that in the barrancas near by, there were many companies of warriors and many other men ready for war who had joined the companies that night, laying in wait for us, ready to carry out their treacherous plans, thinking that we should pass along that road towards Mexico. So in return for our having come to treat them like brothers and to tell them what Our Lord God and the King have ordained, they wished to kill us and eat our flesh, and had already prepared the pots with salt and peppers and tomatoes. If this was what they wanted it would have been better for them to make war on us in the open field like good and valiant warriors, as did their neighbours the Tlaxcalans. He knew for certain all that had been planned in the city and that they had even promised to their Idol, the patron of warfare, that twenty of

[263
262]
●266

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

reputation for valour before, (for they had heard of the wars at Potonchan and Tabasco, of Cingapacinga and Tlaxcala, and they called us Teules, which is to call us gods or evil things), from now on they took us for sorcerers, and said that no evil that was planned against us could be so hidden from us that it did not come to our knowledge, and on this account they showed us good will.

I think that the curious reader must be already satiated hearing this story about Cholula and I wish that I had finished writing about it, but I cannot avoid calling to mind the prisons of thick wooden beams which we found in the city, which were full of Indians and boys being fattened so that they could be sacrificed and their flesh eaten. We broke open all these prisons, and Cortés ordered all the Indian prisoners that were confined within them to return to their native countries, and with threats he ordered the Caciques and captains and priests of the city not to imprison any more Indians in that way, and not to eat human flesh. They promised not to do so, but what use were such promises? as they never kept them.

Let us anticipate and say that these were the great cruelties that the Bishop of Chiapas, Fray Bartolomé de las Casas, wrote about and never ceased talking about, asserting that for no reason whatever, or only for our pastime and because we wanted to, we inflicted that punishment, and he even says it so artfully in his book that he would make those believe, who neither saw it themselves, nor know about it, that these and other cruelties about which he writes were true (as he states them) while it is altogether the reverse of true.[1] It did not happen as he describes it. Let the monks of the order of Santo Domingo see what they can read in the book in which he has written it, and

[1] Blotted out in the original: "I beg your Lordship's pardon for stating it so clearly."—G. G.

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

231 136 *Quezales*, and there are other birds which have feathers of five colours—green, red, white, yellow and blue; I don't remember what they are called; then there were parrots of many different colours, and there are so many of them that I forget their names, not to mention the beautifully marked ducks and other larger ones like them. From all these birds they plucked the feathers when the time was right to do so, and the feathers grew again. All the birds that I have spoken about breed in these houses, and in the setting season certain Indian men and women who look after the birds, place the eggs under them and clean the nests and feed them, so that each kind of bird has its proper food. In this house that I have spoken of there is a great tank of fresh water and in it there are other sorts of birds with long stilted legs, with body, wings and tail all red; I don't know their names, but in the Island of Cuba they are called *Ypiris*, and there are others something like them, and there are also in that tank many other kinds of birds which always live in the water.

[346] Let us leave this and go on to another great house, where they keep many Idols, and they say that they are their fierce gods, and with them many kinds of carnivorous beasts of prey, tigers and two kinds of lions, and animals something like wolves which in this country they call jackals and foxes, and other smaller carnivorous animals, and all these carnivores they feed with flesh, and the greater number of them breed in the house. They give 782 them as food deer and fowls, dogs and other things which they are used to hunt, and I have heard it said that they feed them on the bodies of the Indians who have been sacrificed. It is in this way: you have already heard me say that when they sacrifice a wretched Indian they saw open the chest with stone knives and hasten to tear out the palpitating heart and blood, and offer it to their Idols 782 in whose name the sacrifice is made. Then they cut off 266

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

the thighs, arms and head and eat the former at feasts and banquets, and the head they hang up on some beams, and the body of the man sacrificed is not eaten but given to these fierce animals. They also have in that cursed house many vipers and poisonous snakes which carry on their tails things that sound like bells. These are the worst vipers of all, and they keep them in jars and great pottery vessels with many feathers, and there they lay their eggs and rear their young, and they give them to eat the bodies of the Indians who have been sacrificed, and the flesh of dogs which they are in the habit of breeding. We even knew for certain that when they drove us out of Mexico and killed over eight hundred of our soldiers that they fed those fierce animals and snakes for many days on their bodies, as I will relate at the proper time and season. And those snakes and wild beasts were dedicated to those savage Idols, so that they might keep them company.

Let me speak now of the infernal noise when the lions and tigers roared and the jackals and the foxes howled and the serpents hissed, it was horrible to listen to and it seemed like a hell. Let us go on and speak of the skilled workmen he [Montezuma] employed in every craft that was practised among them. We will begin with lapidaries and workers in gold and silver and all the hollow work, which even the great goldsmiths in Spain were forced to admire, and of these there were a great number of the best in a town named Atzcapotzalco,[1] a league from Mexico. Then for working precious stones and chalchihuites, which are like emeralds, there were other great artists. Let us go on to the great craftsmen in feather work, and painters and sculptors who were most refined; from what we see of their work to-day we can form a

[1] Escapuçalco in the text.

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

apart from the great Cue there was another small tower which was also an Idol house, or a true hell, for it had at the opening of one gate a most terrible mouth such as they depict, saying that such there are in hell. The mouth was open with great fangs to devour souls, and here too were some groups of devils and bodies of serpents close to the door, and a little way off was a place of sacrifice all blood-stained and black with smoke, and encrusted with blood, and there were many great ollas and cántaros and tinajas[1] of water inside the house, for it was here that they cooked the flesh of the unfortunate Indians who were sacrificed, which was eaten by the priests. There were also near the place of sacrifice many large knives and chopping blocks, such as those on which they cut up meat in the slaughter houses. Then behind that cursed house, some distance away from it, were some great piles of firewood, and not far from them a large tank of water which rises and falls, the water coming through a tube from the covered channel which enters the city from Chapultepec. I always called that house "the Infernal Regions."

Let us go on beyond the court to another Cue where the great Mexican princes were buried, where also there were many Idols, and all was full of blood and smoke, and it had other doorways with hellish figures, and then near that Cue was another full of skulls and large bones arranged in perfect order, which one could look at but could not count, for there were too many of them. The skulls were by themselves and the bones in separate piles. In that place there were other Idols, and in every house or Cue or oratory that I have mentioned there were priests with long robes of black cloth and long hoods like those of the Dominicans, and slightly resembling those of the Canons. The hair

[1] Names of various large pottery vessels for holding water and cooking.